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ABSTRACT

A series of 185 interviews in the San Francisco Bay area, conducted by 15 young black men with college backgrounds, dealt with the employment-related experiences, problems, and attitudes of a random sample of black males who were participants in one of 11 federal and private manpower programs, or were labor force nonparticipants. Comparisons were made among those who had taken jobs and stayed, those who had left jobs, those labor force nonparticipants who had worked at some time, and those who had never worked. Various attitudes were examined in relation to labor force participation and duration on a job. Discontent with work norms, perceived discrimination, and a preference for hustling (illicit behavior) were related inversely to labor force participation, while the importance of home and family, the drive to get ahead, and some commitment to work values were related directly. Favorable perceptions of the current job showed the strongest relationship to duration on a job. Job "stayers" were more likely to be from the South. Fifty-five tables present the data. A description of the interviewers' interaction with the respondents and suggestions for further research are included. (AG)

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WORK ATTITUDES OF DISADVANTAGED BLACK MEN

Report 401

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

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WORK ATTITUDES OF DISADVANTAGED BLACK MEN:

A METHODOLOGICAL INQUIRY

Report 401

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR
J. D. Hodgson, Secretary

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS
Geoffrey H. Moore, Commissioner

1972

Preface

The study, Work Attitudes of Disadvantaged Black Men: A Methodological Inquiry, was conducted in the spring of 1970 by the Bureau of Labor Statistics with financial support of the Manpower Administration. The purpose was to develop and test questions and concepts for use in larger research efforts.

The BLS contracted with a local San Francisco organization, PACT, Incorporated, to conduct the enumeration and related field work. BLS professional and technical staff in Washington and in the San Francisco regional office were involved in all phases of the project.

This report was written by Philip B. Springer of the Office of Manpower Structure and Trends, assisted by Sydney C. Anderson.

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Chapter I. Introduction

Institutional mechanisms to improve the employment situation have not reached certain population subgroups. Despite the implementation of many manpower programs, persons in minority groups continue to be overrepresented in the ranks of the unemployed or in low-paying jobs.

The Department of Labor and other government agencies have tried programs such as the Concentrated Employment Program (CEP), Work Incentive Program (WIN), and the Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) to attack the problems of unemployment and low utilization by providing encouragement, education, training, work incentives, and job opportunities to the disadvantaged. Problems, however, continue to exist.

An adjunct of the direct effort to eliminate the problems of poverty and economic waste has been the attempt to obtain more information about the underlying causes of the problems as a means of improving existing programs or to implement new ones. One of the assumptions in this area of research is that attitudes toward work in low income groups are a contributing factor in their employment problems.

For a number of years the Department of Labor has been working toward improving the methods and reliability of gathering data about and understanding of the employment situation of people in poverty areas. An early effort was made in November 1966 when surveys were conducted in poverty areas of eight large cities. Unemployment rates were discovered that were three times higher than the national average at that time.[1] In 1967, the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), with the financial support of the Manpower Administration (MA), conducted a series of experimental methodological surveys of employment problems among residents in poverty areas of New York, Boston, and New Haven. The surveys investigated areas such as the "undercount" of black men in household censuses and surveys; attitudes toward life and work; job-seeking methods used by residents in low income areas; nonparticipation in the labor force. Also of interest was the issue of interviewer-respondent communication, e.g., could certain substantive areas be explored and could questions be formulated for poverty populations that would provide usable and useful data. This issue was problematic since survey experience with this population had been limited.[2] Beginning in 1968 and continuing for 2 years, the program by the Department of Labor undertook large-scale substantive surveys in the poverty areas of six cities and the nonpoverty areas of two of the six. These surveys, applying the lessons of the experimental studies, produced findings regarding work-history; reasons for nonparticipation; job-seeking methods, and (as yet unanalyzed) attitudes about job and life satisfaction.[3]

The BLS, under the auspices of the MA, is continuing to explore a variety of approaches for understanding employment problems in poverty areas. Specifically, these include exploration of new concepts; new items to measure these concepts; new forms of questions; various kinds of interviewers; different population subgroups; different kinds of sampling besides traditional household enumeration. These endeavors, as tested and evaluated, could be included in larger surveys that would produce findings which ultimately could shed light on continuing problems of poverty, and, thereby, make possible programs to improve the employment opportunities for these individuals.

The research project that is being analyzed in this report is part of the Department's continuing effort to improve its information gathering capabilities.

Research Design and Summary of Findings

Reasons for Employment Problems. Manpower planners concerned with the disadvantaged have recognized that it is not sufficient merely to offer jobs to persons characterized by a term such as "hard-core unemployed." Some manpower programs are even designed to reach out to the nonworking population for job candidates. Once on the job, however, no guarantee exists that they will long remain there. One assumption about duration on the job is that it will be a consequence of the workers' perception and evaluation of it relative to other income-producing alternatives such as "hustling"—illicit or marginally-legal economic activities. One hypothesis is that a variety of attitudes not related to a specific job will affect the "hard-core unemployed" attachment to the job. One such attitude is a general commitment to work, one tenet of the Puritan ethic.[4] According to an extreme view of this ethic, work is its own reward. It is expected to be unpleasant sometimes. Another set of attitudes has been mentioned as contributing to job success, as well as to performance in school and other areas of life. These attitudes are described as feelings of efficacy or of optimism with regard to one's ability to meet challenges successfully.[5] The idea is that people who have a sense of efficacy as a personality trait are likely to "make it"

in the world. This theory is akin to the folk notion that "where there's a will, there's a way."

Recently, some new ideas have surfaced, which, if true, would tend to explain the disaffection from work of many ghetto young men. These ideas follow from the notions of black culture,[6] or as an alternative explanation, the culture of poverty.[7] Here, the view is that the ghetto man has developed a life-style revolving around norms of autonomy and expressiveness which make repugnant the world of work as it now is. This world is considered "white, repressive, and stifling" in regard to a style of speech, dress, and language.

The question is which are decisive for job attachment specifically. Which attitudes make a difference? In order to resolve these various theoretical approaches, one would have to examine them simultaneously in a large survey.

This study was a step in this direction. One objective was to examine the utility of items which would measure these different sets of attitudes. Insights were sought which would indicate whether certain question areas are worth further exploration and if the attitudinal concepts need more refinement.

The Research Project. The Bureau of Labor Statistics contracted with a local San Francisco organization, PACT, Incorporated, to conduct a series of personal interviews with black men in the San Francisco Bay area. The contents of the interviews were employment-related experiences, problems, and attitudes. The sample of respondents was selected from government and private manpower programs, and from nonparticipants in the labor force selected at random in the street or at other "casual" settings.

Field operations conducted by PACT, Incorporated, were under the supervision of the BLS San Francisco Regional Office staff. Technical support was provided by BLS Washington staff.

Sample Design. The samples included black men only, because of their population group having severe employment problems such as high unemployment rates or low-paying jobs. This selection controlled our study for two variables—race and sex. The San Francisco Bay area was chosen as representative of a large metropolis on the West Coast that had many of the problems associated with low-income groups in urban areas and because it had a variety of manpower programs from which to draw the sample.

In order to examine the factors related to labor force performance for black men, the research design required three groups to represent performance types. Group one would include those who take a job and stay on it. Group two would include those who take a job but do not stay. Group three would include those who do not even want a job. (This last group serves as a comparison also, since they would be expected to show characteristics and attitudes different from the other two groups.) The determination of which respondents should be thought of as "stayers" or "leavers" would be made on the basis of the number of months on the job.

Since a household sample was economically prohibitive because of the large number of respondents who would have to be approached in order to select those reasonably fitting duration criteria, names and addresses were drawn from the records of Government manpower programs and establishments that ran Government-sponsored programs, which concentrated on the hiring of those formerly considered "unemployable" or the "hard-core unemployed." The use of records from the manpower programs and establishments participating in these programs as a source for the interviews had the additional advantage of controlling the sample in terms of entry on the job; that is, the method and decision to take the job was similar for all respondents. Ultimately, household interviews from 186 men were processed for analysis in the first sample—men who took a job. This sample combines the "stayers" and "leavers."

The sample of men who got jobs through the government-sponsored manpower programs were randomly selected from 11 programs in the San Francisco Bay area.[8] Originally it was hoped that respondents could be selected on the basis of duration on the program job; that is, 50 percent of the respondents would have been those who had stayed on the program job 12 months or more and the other 50 percent would have been men who left before completing 4 or 5 months on the program job. However, the records, from which the names and addresses were taken, did not uniformly contain current or accurate information. In addition, because of difficulties encountered in finding respondents due to high mobility, poor addresses, etc., the duration criterion for selecting respondents was dropped. It was decided that the duration determination would be made during the subsequent analysis of the questionnaires.

The comparison sample of respondents—those who do not have a job and are not looking for one—were selected at random from men who agreed to be interviewed in a casual setting such as a street corner, pool room, or bar. Prospective respondents in these settings were screened to exclude labor force participants, those on leave or vacation from school or the military, and those unable to work because of a permanent disability. Interviews were completed by 185 men.

Table 1. Percent Distribution of Program Sample by Interview Completion and Age for Two Selected Sources

Sources	Total	18–22 years	23–30 years	31 years and over
Source A				
Designated respondents	100 (N=88)	59	33	8
Actually interviewed respondents	100 (N=19)	47	47	6
Source B				
Designated respondents	100 (N=223)	32	42	26
Actually interviewed respondents	100 (N=36)	42	33	25

Selected characteristics of the male respondents–age, marital status, educational attainment–can be seen in tables 1 through 5. Table 1 compares interviewed respondents with those in the originally selected sample.

The casual sample, although not representative in a statistical sense, very readily furnished respondents who could be contrasted with the program participants. The casual respondents were not participants in the labor force. To get a similar sample in a household survey would have been very time-consuming. Further, because of the undercount problem, men interviewed in casual settings might not be found in households. In this sense, casual interviews have an advantage for students of employment problems of the "hard-core unemployed."[9]

Subsequent tabulations indicated that, surprisingly, a high proportion of the casual sample consisted of men who had never worked (48 cases). This provided the opportunity to make further internal comparisons since this group represented even less labor force participation than the total casual sample (185 cases). Consequently, two subsamples were broken out–"casual, sometime worked" and "casual, never worked." With the program participants, the possibility arose of comparing three groups that fell along a continuum of labor force participation. Thus, relating attitudes to these groups would give some idea of the utility of the questions for understanding initial labor force entry.

Table 2. Percent Distribution of Type of Interview and Place of Birth

Place of birth	Household interviews	Total	Casual interviews	
			Sometime worked	Never worked
Number	186	185	137	48
Percent	100	100	100	100
San Francisco Bay Area–	37	37	31	54
Other city in California	7	9	10	6
Deep South	33	25	28	19
Other South	15	17	20	10
Other States	6	10	11	6
Other Countries	1	1	...	2
Don't know	...	1	...	2
No answer	1	1	1	...

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

The program participants also could be divided into two groups, in terms of duration on the program job. Another dimension of labor force performance beyond labor force participation could be considered. Also, we would be able to address the initial issue, the question posed by manpower planners concerning turnover of the "hard-core unemployed."

Summary of Findings. A variety of attitudes were examined in relation to two measures of employment performance. The first measure is labor force participation; the second, duration on a job.

A number of background work attitudes, or predispositions, appeared to be related to participation or entry into the labor force, but these attitudes had little or no connection to the person's duration on the job, once he had it. Once on the job, other attitudes, related to the immediate job, appeared to be associated with duration on that job.

Labor force participation, which is a minimal aspect of employment performance, was related to a variety of attitudinal items. A number of indicators of grievance, that is, discontent with work norms of bureaucracy and authority, were associated inversely with labor force participation in the survey. Similarly, a measure of perceived discrimination was related inversely to participation. Other race-related items, for example, preference for black coworkers or supervisors, were related inversely to participation, and differentiated current participants from nonparticipants. But those who never had worked did not differ in their attitudes from those who, although currently out of the labor force, had at some time worked. Accordingly, the two race-related items were less useful than the others mentioned in explaining labor force participation.

Attitudes toward "hustling," a variety of illicit behaviors, also appeared to be related to participation. Awareness of hustling is less discriminating a measure than is preference for hustling, which was also related inversely to participation.

A number of "commitment to work" measures were found to be useful. These work values appeared to be

Table 3. Percent Distribution of Type of Interview by Years of School Completed

Years of school completed	Household interview	Total	Casual interviews	
			Sometime worked	Never worked
Number	186	185	137	48
Percent	100	100	100	100
8 years and under	4	3	3	2
9 years	5	7	7	8
10 years	9	13	9	25
11 years	23	17	17	17
12 years	47	45	47	37
13 years and over	11	14	16	8
No answer	1	1	1	2

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

related directly to labor force participation, although some specific indicators were less useful than others. Similarly, "drive to get ahead" was associated positively with participation. A nonwork attitude, the importance of "home and family" compared with other areas of life, was also related positively to participation.

Personal efficacy, as reflected in five items in the survey questionnaire, did not have the expected positive relation to labor force participation. This finding, which

Table 4. Percent Distribution of Type of Interview by Marital Status

Marital status	Household interview	Total	Casual interviews	
			Sometime worked	Never worked
Number	186	185	137	48
Percent	100	100	100	100
Married, with spouse present	38	16	20	6
Separated	8	14	16	4
Common law	...	8	9	6
Widowed or divorced	3	6	8	2
Never married	51	55	47	79
No answer	1	1	0	2

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 5. Percent Distribution of Type of Interview by Age

Age	Household interview	Total	Casual interview	
			Sometime worked	Never worked
Number	186	185	137	48
Percent	100	100	100	100
17 years	1	1	1	...
18 years	4	...	...	...
19 years	11	6	3	15
20 years	14	10	4	25
21 years	13	11	10	15
22 years	6	11	10	15
23 years	5	10	11	8
24 years	5	9	9	8
25 years	6	4	6	...
26 years	3	5	6	2
27 years	4	3	4	2
28 years	5	5	7	...
29 years	4	4	5	...
30 years and over	17	21	24	10
No answer	1	...	...	...

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

contradicts some theoretical expectations as well as other empirical investigations, suggested the need for reconceptualization and further research.

When replicated with two duration groups, stayers and leavers, a relation could not be established clearly between duration on the program job and attitudes in the areas of grievances, discrimination, race preferences, "hustling," work commitment, and efficacy. Many of the attitudes toward these subjects show a strong relationship to labor force entry, that is, participation, but a weaker one to duration on a job.

What was related strongly to duration was a series of items measuring not general attitudes but perceptions and evaluations of the current job. If the job was viewed favorably, duration was more likely to be extended.

Finally, some demographic contexts, related to duration, are presented. Geographic region of origin appears to be related to duration; job stayers in the sample were more likely to be from the South than were leavers.

Chapter II. Attitudinal Items in Relation to Current Participants and Nonparticipants in the Labor Force

In this chapter, attitudinal items are analyzed by comparing the responses among three groups: (1) household interviews of those who entered a manpower program seeking a job, (2) casual interviews of those who had worked but were not currently in the labor force, and, (3) casual interviews of those who had never worked. The original intent was to examine the attitudinal items by comparing responses of the household interviews, that is, those who had sought a job, with the casual interviews, that is, those currently not looking for a job. However, the unanticipated finding that the casual sample included a significant number of men who had never worked offered another discrete (and important) component for comparison on the continuum of labor force participation.

A variety of attitudinal items will be examined in relation to the three sample groups. The researchers had definite expectations about the relation of these attitudes to labor force participation, as defined. If the relation turned out to be as anticipated, then confidence in the validity of the items would have been reasonable. This validity would increase their usefulness in substantive manpower research and as social indicators in other surveys of the population as a whole. If, on the other hand, some attitudes were not related to labor force participation, they probably were poor indicators, although adequate substantive, theoretical grounds for the absence of the relationship could be found. These questions will be considered as they arise and the ambiguous inconclusive nature of some of the findings will be pointed out.

General Job Grievance

Both program participants (group one) and current nonparticipants (group two) who had worked at some time were asked, "Have there been things about your jobs which have bothered you so much that you felt that you just couldn't take it any longer?" Those who had never worked (group three) were asked the question in a modified form in which they had to project their feelings: "Think about the kinds of jobs you could get right now—are there things about these jobs which you feel would bother you so much that you would rather not take them?" In response, 60 percent of current nonparticipants (groups 2 and 3) said "yes," compared with half of those who had entered job programs (group one). (See table 6.)

Table 6. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Presence of Bothersome Things on Job[1]

Presence of bothersome things on job	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number . . .	183	136	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	50	60	60
No	50	40	40

[1] Excluded from totals are three N.A.'s in I, and one N.A. in II. Program participants (I) vs. Casuals (II + III) $Chi^2 = 3.727$, Id.f. not significant [Note: In all that will appear, not significant means that the Chi^2 is at a level greater than 0.05].

This item attempted to show some measure of the diffuse discontent, or anxiety, rooted in the job situation. Even those who had never worked appeared to have these feelings about jobs; in this case, they expressed more discontent than those with current work experience. An examination is made later in this report of specific areas of job grievance, which were expected to be particularly relevant to the population surveyed.

Informal Cultural Demands of Job

It was envisioned that informal cultural requirements of the job might affect labor force participation, as represented by the sample groups. This issue was approached through several questions. First, respondents in groups 1 and 2 were asked, "Do you feel that in jobs you've held there was too much red tape that is, you

Table 7. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Presence of Red Tape[1]

Presence of red tape	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number . . .	183	135	45
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	19	18	55
No	81	82	45

[1] Excluded from totals are 3 N.A.'s from I; 2 N.A.'s from II, 3 N.A.'s from III.
I vs. III $Chi^2 = 24.065$, Id.f., $P < .001$.
II vs. III $Chi^2 = 22.666$, Id.f., $P < .001$.

Table 8. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Formal Language Requirement[1]

Unnecessarily formal language required	I Program Participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number ...	183	137	46
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	5	7	32
No	95	93	59
Don't know	...	...	9

[1] Excluded from totals are 3 N.A.'s in I, and 2 in III.
I vs. III $Chi^2 = 25.317$, Id.f., $P < .001$.
II vs. III, $Chi^2 = 16.531$, Id.f., $P < .001$.

had to follow too many rules and regulations or unnecessary procedures?" Those who never worked were asked, "Do you feel that there would be . . . ?" The item differentiated those who had never worked from the other groups; the "never worked" were more likely to feel that there would be unnecessary red tape. The proportion of those who had never worked who perceived red tape was 55 percent; for program participants and the sometime worked group, it was 19 and 18 percent, respectively. (See table 7.)

Similarly, the first two groups were asked, "Do you feel that you have been expected to use unnecessarily formal language on your jobs–that is, language that is too fancy?" Those who never worked were asked, "Do you feel that you would be expected to use (this language)?" Again, those who had never worked were more likely to answer in the affirmative. The data show that 32 percent of the "never worked" group felt that unnecessarily formal language was required, and only 5 percent of the participants and 7 percent of the casual sometime worked group held this view. (See table 8.)

Another question asked was, "Have you felt uncomfortable about the way you were expected to dress on your jobs?" The "never worked" group was asked, "Do you feel that you would be uncomfortable . . . ?" Again, the same pattern was observed: no difference was indicated between the current and past labor force participants (11 and 9 percent, respectively). The "never worked" group exhibited a higher affirmative response rate (36 percent). (See table 9.)

Table 9. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Uncomfortable Feelings over Dress[1]

Uncomfortable feelings due to dress	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number ...	183	137	47
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	11	9	36
No	89	91	64

[1] Excluded from the totals are 3 N.A.'s in I, and 1 N.A. in III.
I vs. III, $Chi^2 = 14.636$, Id.f., $P < .001$.
II vs. III, $Chi^2 = 21.213$, Id.f., $P < .001$.

Table 10. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Feelings of Being Bossed Around[1]

Feelings of being bossed around	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number ...	183	136	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	33	30	52
No	67	69	44
Don't know	...	1	4

[1] Excluded from the totals are 3 N.A.'s from I and 1 N.A. from II.
I vs. III ('No' and 'don't know' combined) $Chi^2 = 5.224$, Id.f., $P < .05$.
II vs. III ('No' and 'don't know' combined) $Chi^2 = 6.531$, Id.f., $P < .02$.

These three items concerning red tape, language, and dress, seek to get at the strain between the attitudes of the "hard-core unemployed" black man and the social requirements of the world of work. This strain, as indicated by "yes" responses, is greatest for the "never worked" group, differentiating it from those who have worked. These attitudes held by those who have never worked may be barriers to their initial entry into the labor force.

Several questions were asked in relation to grievances about authority and status relations on the job. It was hypothesized that the sample groups might be differentiated in terms of discontent. First, the question was

Table 11. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Feelings of Unimportance or Insignificance[1]

Feelings of unimportance or insignificance	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number ...	181	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	24	17	17
No	76	82	81
Don't know	...	1	2

[1] Excluded from totals are 5 N.A.'s in I.

Table 12. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Perception of Attempts to Make One Feel Unimportant or Insignificant[1]

Perceiving attempts to make one feel unimportant or insignificant	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	136	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	22	21	56
No	78	78	35
Don't know	...	1	8

[1] Excluded from totals are four N.A.'s from I and one N.A. from II.
I vs. III ('No's + 'don't know' combined) $Chi^2 = 19.915$, Id.f., $P < 0.001$.
II vs. III ('No's + 'don't know' combined) $Chi^2 = 20.041$, Id.f., $P < 0.001$.

asked, "Have you often felt bossed around on your jobs?" The "never worked" were asked, "Do you feel that you would often be . . ?" The "never worked" group were more likely to answer "yes" (52 percent). This response is proportionately greater than the rates for the other two groups; they responded "yes" about these experiences, 33 and 30 percent, respectively. (See table 10.)

The samples of those who had worked then were asked, "Have you often felt unimportant or insignificant on your jobs?" The never worked group was asked, "Do you think you would feel . . . ?" This item's purpose was to measure the degrading aspect of the job as perceived by the respondent and the low esteem experienced by some. This item, like the preceding item, showed a noteworthy affirmative response rate. No significant difference was observed between groups. (See table 11.)

Finally, in this series, the question was asked, "Did people on the job try to make you feel unimportant or insignificant?" The never worked group was asked, "Do you think people might try to make you feel unimportant or insignificant on jobs you could get?" This question was added since it was believed that some respondents would hesitate to answer affirmatively to the preceding question since an affirmative answer might indicate their sense of inadequacy. Consequently, it would be easier to answer the latter item (". . . people might *try* . . . "), which would appear less threatening to the respondent because of its indirectness.

The anticipated results were verified since, in the preceding item, the "never worked" group drastically changed its pattern of response, and answered in the affirmative somewhat less than the program group. But when asked the less sensitive question, "Do you think people might *try* to make you feel . . . ?" the familiar pattern reappeared. Their affirmative response rate rose. Slightly over one-half of the "never worked" group held this view compared with about one-fifth of the other two groups. Clearly, this series of items sheds some light on the man who "never worked" and on some aspects of labor force participation. (See table 12.)

What is striking is the number of these grievances that occurred on the program job. From one perspective, the frequency is high, since one would think that on these jobs, supposedly set aside for the "hard-core unemployed", a sensitivity to the special needs of the recruits would be established. Probably, many of the firms involved have not had "hard-core unemployed" blacks working for them and the firstline supervisors had had little or no contact with them before the program started. Apparently, program firms may not be adequately prepared to meet the on-the-job needs of the

Table 13. Grievances Occurring on Program Job and Total Grievances

Grievance	Program job grievance	Total grievances
Things that would bother so much	34	91
Red tape	17	34
Formal language	5	10
Dress	15	21
Bossed-around	37	60
Felt unimportant or insignificant	25	44
They tried to make me feel unimportant or insignificant	20	40
Total	153	300

Table 14. Grievance by Area and Whether It was on a Program Job or Not

Grievance	Original program participants grievance rate (percent)	Program job grievance rate[1] (percent)	Nonprogram job grievance rate (percent)
Things that would bother so much	50	20	31
Red tape	19	10	9
Language	5	3	3
Dress	11	9	3
Bossed-around	33	22	13
Felt unimportant or insignificant	24	15	10
They tried to make me feel unimportant or insignificant	22	12	11

[1] These percentages are computed on a base which is 16 less than the original total. The cases removed represent respondents for whom there were no program jobs.

Table 15. Grievances by Labor Force Participation (with Recomputed Program Participation Rate)

Grievance	I Program participant: Nonprogram job grievances (percent)	II Casual Sometime worked (percent)	III Casual Never worked (percent)
Things that would bother[1]	31	60	60
Red tape[2]	9	18	55
Language[3]	3	7	32
Dress[4]	3	9	36
Bossed-around[5]	13	30	52
Felt unimportant or insignificant[6]	10	17	17
They tried to make me feel unimportant or insignificant[7]	11	21	56

[1] I vs. (II + III), (2 X 2 table), $Chi^2 = 30.373$, Id.f., $P < .001$.
[2] I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table), $Chi^2 = 51.855$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.
[3] I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table), $Chi^2 = 43.384$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.
[4] I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table), $Chi^2 = 45.938$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.
[5] I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table), $Chi^2 = 35.759$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.
[6] I vs. (II + III), (2 X 2 table), $Chi^2 = 3.503$, 1d.f., not significant.
[7] I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table), $Chi^2 = 48.025$, 2d.f., $P < .001$.

"hard-core unemployed". (See table 13.)

Earlier, program participants were shown not to differ from the casual sometime worked respondents in terms of grievance rates. (See tables 6–12.) However, they did differ from the "never worked" on most items. Accordingly, the items show some, if limited, relationship to labor force participation. The relatively high rates for the program participants will now be explained.

The program participant rate of grievance combines 2 sub-rates: a rate of grievance on program jobs and a rate of grievance on other than program jobs. If the program job grievances are removed from each table and only the resulting new rate (for program participants) of grievance on jobs other than the program job is left, the new rate is reduced substantially for each item, and more in accord with the anticipated results. (See table 14.) These new rates can now be compared with the rates for the casual samples. (See table 15.) Labor force participation appears to be related to grievance. Program participants were less likely to have been discontented with job situations than nonparticipants. Probably, these job experiences or job attitudes would affect the propensity to enter the labor force.

The original grievance rates for program participants (all jobs included) were inflated because of the effects of

Table 16. Number Unable to Name Grievance-Related Jobs by Grievance Area and Labor Force Participation

Grievances	Number—"don't know's"		Number—"all things"	
	I Program Participant	II Casual Sometime worked	I Program Participant	II Casual Sometime worked
Things which have bothered	0	0	1	0
Red tape	1	0	2	0
Language	1	0	1	1
Dress	0	0	1	0
Bossed-around	0	0	4	2
Felt unimportant or insignificant	0	0	1	1
They tried to make me feel unimportant or insignificant	0	0	2	0
Treated unfairly because black	0	0	1	2

grievance-producing program jobs. In fact, the program job increased the original grievance rate to the point that it approximated that of the casual sometime worked group. It would be interesting to know whether these discontented participants end up in the same condition as the casual respondents, that is, not looking for work.

In the series of items which purported to measure the acknowledgement of grievance with jobs, a question was asked on what job the specific problem occurred. The thinking was that a "don't know" response would indicate the problem was an attitude or expectation that the worker brought to the job. The extreme attitude or expectation would be that of a "malcontent." On the other hand, if the respondent could name a specific job

Table 17. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Preference for Supervisor[1]

Preference for supervisor	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	172	131	47
Percent	100	100	100
Black	46	63	66
White	4	1	
Either	50	37	34

[1] Excluded from totals are 14 N.A.'s in I; 6 N.A.'s in II; 1 N.A. in III.
I vs. (II + III) (2 X 2 table) $Chi^2 = 10.249$, 1d.f. $P < 0.001$.
NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not add to totals.

he had held, then this response would suggest that his perception was rooted in the reality of the actual job. Very few respondents could not specify the jobs (occupation and industry) in which they had the problem affirmed. (See table 16.)

Also included in table 16 are the number of respondents who replied "all of them" when asked to name jobs where they experienced these grievances. This is a nonspecific response, akin to "don't know;" and very few cases were reported. This finding supports the contention that the grievances cannot be divorced from the nature of the job.

Race-Related Items

Three explicitly race-related items were examined. The anticipated result was that some measure of race preference, of "consciousness of kind," would be related to labor force participation—that is, parochial racial attitudes held by the respondents could limit their labor market mobility. Appropriately, the question was asked, "Who are you more comfortable with—a white or black supervisor?" The "never worked" sample was asked, "Who would you be more comfortable with . . . ?" (See table 17.)

The current nonparticipants (groups 2 and 3) were more likely to be comfortable with a black supervisor (about two-thirds) than were the program participants (less than half). This item was followed up with a similar question, but this time relating to coworkers. (See table 18.) The same pattern emerged. The program participants were less likely to be concerned about the race of coworkers than the current nonparticipants. Labor market participation seems to be positively related to feeling comfortable with members of *either* race on the job. And those nonparticipants who had never worked did not differ from those who had worked at some time.

A question was included to measure perception of discrimination at work: "Have you ever been treated unfairly or badly on the jobs you've had, because you are black?" ("Would be . . . " for the "never worked.") Around two-fifths of the "never worked" said "yes" and one-third of the other two groups. (See table 19.)

The apparent lack of difference between participants and "casual sometime worked" was a function of merging grievances on the program job with grievances experienced on other jobs held by the program participant. By factoring out the cases in which grievances were on the program job and recomputing a new rate, that is, proportion of program participants experiencing discriminatory treatment on other jobs, the researchers found the new rate (20 percent) was less than that of the casual sometime worked (32 percent) and even less than that of the never worked group (42 percent). (See tables 19 and 20.) Thus, as with items in tables 6 to 12, program job grievances were responsible for the rela-

Table 18. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Coworker Preference[1]

Preference for coworker	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	180	133	47
Percent	100	100	100
Black	54	75	72
White	2	1	2
Either	44	24	26

[1] Excluded from the totals are 6 N.A.'s in I; 4 N.A.'s in II; 1 N.A. in III.
I vs. (II + III) (2 × 2 table) $Chi^2 = 15.656$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 19. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Perception of Discrimination[1]

Perception of discrimination	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	136	47
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	37	32	42
No	63	67	42
Don't know	1	1	15

[1] Excluded from totals are 3 N.A.'s in I; one N.A. in II; and one N.A. in III.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 20. Discrimination Perceived by Program Participants by Job Context[1]

Item	Original program participation discrimination	Program job discrimination	Non-program job discrimination
Percent experiencing unfair treatment because black	37	18	20
	N = 183	N = 167[1]	N = 183

[1] This figure excludes 16 respondents for whom no program job was available.

Table 21. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Perceived Opportunities for Hustling[1]

Perceived opportunities for hustling	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	180	136	46
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	52	80	76
No	42	18	22
Don't know	5	2	2

[1] Excluded from the totals are six N.A.'s from I; one N.A. from II; two N.A.'s from III.
I vs. (II + III) ('No's' and 'Don't knows' combined), Chi^2 = 15.624, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

tively high rate of grievances experienced by the participant sample.

"Hustling"

It was anticipated that labor force participation would be related to participating in hustling or to favorable attitudes about hustling. (Hustling comprises illegal or marginally legal income-producing activities.) If one can and is willing to obtain money from sources other than regular work, his participation in the "straight" world of work would be expected to be reduced. Respondents were asked, "In your part of town, are there opportunities to make money through hustling?" Here, the two casual, nonparticipant subsamples, although not differing from one another, were substantially more likely to perceive such opportunities (over three-fourths compared with one-half) than were the job program participants. (See table 21.)

The respondents were then asked, "Which is better . . . a regular job or hustling?" This was a more direct question and reveals an even clearer pattern. Ninety-one percent of the program participants said regular jobs compared with 59 percent of the current nonparticipants who had worked sometime, compared with only 23 percent of those who had never worked. (See table 22.)

Table 22. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Preference for Hustling or Regular Job[1]

Preference	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	135	48
Percent	100	100	100
Regular job	91	59	23
Hustling	3	17	42
Don't know	6	24	35

[1] Excluded from the totals are 4 N.A.'s in I; and 2 N.A.'s in II.
I vs. II vs. III (2 X 3 table) Chi^2 = 98.716, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 23A. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

Would you rather be around the neighborhood all day than go to a regular job?	I Program Participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	14	34	50
No	86	64	40
Don't know	1	2	10

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s in I.
I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 table). "No," the committed response, is in one row, "yes" and "don't know" are in the second row. Chi^2 = 45.957, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Commitment to Work

A series of 6 items were included to measure "commitment to work,"[10] the extent to which a worker believes in the "traditional" work ethic. The responses were generally consistent with the expectation that the program participants would be the more committed and

Table 23B. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

If you had enough money so that you would not have to hold down a regular job, would you still work?	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	70	50	27
No	29	48	65
Don't know	1	2	8

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s in I.
I vs. II vs. III, (2 X 3 Table). "Yes," the commited response, is in one row, "no" and "don't know" are in the second row. Chi^2 = 25.182, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 23C. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

Some of the main interests and pleasures in life are connected with a regular job.	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	73	32	19
No	24	58	62
Don't know	3	10	19

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s from I.
I vs. II vs. III, (2 × 3 Table). "Yes," the committed response, is in one row, "no" and "don't know" are in the second row. $Chi^2 = 101.925$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

that the casual, nonparticipant respondents, less committed. (See tables 23, A-F.)

In most instances, the two groups that made up the casual sample could be further differentiated from one another; the never worked group showed even less commitment than the sometime worked group. This was not the case with Item E (table 23-E), or Item F (table 23-F), where no difference between groups is indicated. Items A, B, C, and D, would appear, at this stage of analysis, to be the better measures of commitment to the "traditional" work ethic.

"Commitment to work" values, though they may not be related to work performance or other on-the-job variables, seem to have some relation to labor force participation. To this extent, the data qualified Gerald Gurin's criticism of the approach which "sees poverty groups as lacking some of the goals, aspirations, and values of "middle-class" society . . ."[11] In distinguishing

Table 23D. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

Regular work is one of the most satisfying parts of life.	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	55	20	15
No	41	72	69
Don't know	4	7	17

[1] Excluded from the totals are four N.A.'s in I.
I vs. (II + III), (2 × 2 Table). "Yes," the committed responses, are in one row, "no" and "don't know" are in the other. $Chi^2 = 49.816$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 23E. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

Spare-time activities are much more enjoyable than regular work	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	136	47
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	62	84	70
No	32	10	11
Don't know	6	6	19

[1] Excluded from the totals are four N.A.'s in I; one N.A. in II; and, one N.A. in III.
I vs. (II + III), (2 × 2 table). "No," the committed response, is in one row, "yes" and "don't know" are in the other row. $Chi^2 = 21.952$, 1d.f., $P < .001$.

the working from the nonworking poor, these values are not irrelevant. However, for the working poor, these values are of little use in explaining work performance. (See further discussion of work commitment in Chapter III.)

Drive to Get Ahead

Two items attempted to measure "drive to get ahead." These indicators differed from work commitment in that they were less ideological and involved the respondent's philosophical assumptions less than the preceding group of questions. Both items differentiated the sample groups. Program participants were more willing than the casual sometime worked group to move in order to get ahead, 65 and 57 percent, respectively. This latter group, in turn, was more willing to move than those who never worked (33 percent). When respondents were asked

Table 23F. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Commitment to Work Attitudes[1]

Work is just a way of making money	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	47
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	71	69	66
No	28	22	28
Don't know	11	10	6

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s in I and one N.A. in III.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 24A. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Drive to Get Ahead Indicators[1]

To get ahead, would you be willing to move your family to a new part of the country?	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	65	57	33
No	30	39	58
Don't know	5	4	8

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s in I.
I vs. III ("No's" and "don't know's" in one row) $Chi^2 = 14.578$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.
II vs. III ("No's" and "don't know's" in one row) $Chi^2 = 7.078$, 1d.f., $P < 0.01$.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

about "willingness to do work you don't like," the differences were as great, if not greater. The data show that around two-thirds of the participants would have been willing while only half of the casual sometime worked would. The proportion drops to a fifth for the never worked. (See tables 24A and 24B.)

Efficacy

Five efficacy items, which had been used before by Gerald Gurin, were employed in this study. Mr. Gurin believes that efficacy, the extent to which one feels he has a control over his destiny as opposed to being determined by external forces, is crucial for job success. Efficacy in the Gurin sense overrides other considera-

Table 24B. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Drive to Get Ahead Indicators[1]

Would you be willing to do work you don't like in order to get ahead	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
Yes	63	49	21
No	34	45	75
Don't know	3	6	4

[1] Excluded from the totals are four "N.A.'s" in I.
I vs. II vs. III, 2 X 3 Table, ("No's" and "Don't know's" in one row) $Chi^2 = 27.523$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 25A. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Efficacy Attitudes[1]

Attitudes	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	183	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
When I make plans I am almost certain that I can make them work	51	58	56
It is not always a good idea to plan too far ahead, because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad luck anyway	49	42	44
Don't know	1	...	...

[1] Excluded from the totals are three N.A.'s from I.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

tions of values and cultural expectations, which the data in this study have shown to be of some import. Therefore, it was considered important to learn more about efficacy, rightly considered a crucial issue on theoretical grounds as well as on the basis of Gurin's empirical investigations. BLS data showed no clear pattern of differentiation among the sample groups on the issue of efficacy. (See tables 25A–E.)

In one table (25-B), the never worked group answered more in the efficacious direction than did the other nonparticipant group; the responses of this group, in turn, indicated greater feelings of efficacy than were felt

Table 25B. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Efficacy Attitudes[1]

Attitudes	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
I've usually felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I want it to	33	42	54
There have been times when I haven't been very sure that my life would work out the way I want it to	66	57	46
Don't know	1	1	...

[1] Excluded from the total are four N.A.'s from I.

Table 25C. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Efficacy Attitudes[1]

Attitudes	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	137	48
Percent	100	100	100
When people disagree with me, I sometimes start to wonder whether I'm right	37	42	29
I nearly always feel sure of myself, even when people disagree with me	62	58	69
Don't know	2	...	2

[1] Excluded from the totals are four N.A.'s from I.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 25D. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Efficacy Attitudes[1]

Attitudes	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	135	48
Percent	100	100	100
I often have trouble making up my mind about important decisions	29	29	29
I don't have much trouble making up my mind about important decisions	71	71	71
Don't know	...	...	...

[1] Excluded from the totals are four N.A.'s from I, and two N.A.'s from II.

Table 25E. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Efficacy Attitudes[1]

Attitudes	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	180	136	46
Percent	100	100	100
When I make plans ahead, I usually get to carry things out the way I expected	56	46	52
Things usually come up to make me change my plans	44	54	48
Don't know	1	...	...

[1] Excluded from the totals are six N.A.'s from I; one N.A. from II; two N.A.'s from III.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 26. Percent Reporting Hustling by Efficacy Items for Never Worked

Efficacious responses	No hustling	Hustling	Refused to answer
When I make plans, I am almost certain that I can have them work	52 (N=21)	53 (N=23)	25 (N=4)
I've usually felt pretty sure my life could work out the way I want it to	29 (N=21)	22 (N=23)	50 (N=4)
I nearly always feel sure of myself, even when people disagree with me	57 (N=21)	65 (N=23)	75 (N=4)
I don't have much trouble making up mind about important decision	71 (N=21)	70 (N=23)	50 (N=4)
When I make plans ahead, I usually get to carry things out the way I expected	81 (N=21)	59 (N=23)	75 (N=4)

Table 27. Percent Distribution of Labor Force Participation by Most Important Part of Life[1]

Most important part of life	I Program participant	II Casual Sometime worked	III Casual Never worked
Number	182	135	47
Percent	100	100	100
Making a living	23	23	36
Friendships	5	19	15
Sparetime activities	2	2	9
Home and family	70	56	40
Don't know	1	...	...

[1] Excluded from the table are four N.A.'s from I; two N.A.'s from II; one N.A. from III.
I vs. II vs. III, 2 X 3 table, ("Home + Family" in one row, all others in second row) $Chi^2 = 15.567$, 2d.f., $P < 0.001$.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

by the program participants. The pattern is the reverse of what was expected.

It was thought that this might be due to the high proportion of "hustling" in the never worked group (around half). Hustlers, after all, as the name suggests, are expending considerable energy to acquire income, even though it is not necessarily through "legitimate" means. But an examination of tables relating hustling to the efficacy items does not show any positive findings. Hustlers, as identified in the sample, do not have feelings of greater efficacy. (See table 26.)

Efficacy does not seem to be a factor in the minimum work performance, labor force entry. It may be related positively to other measures of performance and success as Gurin's data suggest. This issue will be returned to in a subsequent section. At this point, work can be viewed as a process in which different attitudes are engaged at different stages of one's "career."

Most Important Part of Life

Finally, when asked which part of life is most important to him, his way of making a living, his friendships, his spare-time activities, or his home and family, "home and family" was selected by a high proportion (70 percent) of program participants, about one-half of the casual nonparticipants who had worked at some time, and only two-fifths of those who had never worked. These results were in the expected direction. (See table 27.)

Chapter III. Attitudinal Items in Relation to "Stayers" and "Leavers"

In the previous chapter, the responses of persons in and out of the labor force to a given set of attitudinal items were compared. In this chapter, the responses to these same and other items will be compared for two subsample groups of persons in the labor force. These persons are identified as "stayers" or "leavers" based on the length of employment on the program job.

Originally, the intent was to establish arbitrarily extreme duration criteria; that is, leavers were to be those who left the program job within a 3-month period and stayers were to be those who remained on the program job 12 months or more. However, because of the small number falling in these categories, the stayer-leaver classification was made after a preliminary analysis of the responses.

The "stayer-leaver" analysis of responses to the items discussed in this chapter is crucial for establishing the utility of such items for future use in identifying the problem of why some men take a job and leave it. The substantive analysis which follows is primarily for methodological purposes, that is, to test the validity of the items.

The sample of men who participated in manpower programs (186 cases) was sorted into groups as follows: one group of men who were on manpower program jobs 8 months or more (88 cases); one group who quit in 7 months or less (62 cases); a group of 16 men for whom no job was available; and 20 others who could not be classified in terms of months on the job. (Typically, they were given the job within the 7 months prior to the interview and were still on it; thus, it could not be said that they were on it 8 months, the cut-off point. In other cases, respondents were laid-off for economic reasons or quit for a better job; they, too could not be classified.)

The comparison was made of the first two groups—"stayers" and "leavers"—in terms of a number of characteristics.[1,2] Some of these items were looked at earlier in comparing the sample groups. These earlier comparisons will be alluded to here when necessary.

A characteristic which appears to differentiate stayers and leavers is the average wage earned per month worked, in the 12-month period prior to entering the program job. This measure of prior performance was expected to be related to subsequent performance as measured by duration on the program job. The stayers were slightly more likely to have had higher wages—57 percent had earned over $400 a month compared with 46 percent for the leavers. (See table 28.)

Table 28. Percent Distribution of Duration by Average Monthly Wage[1]

Average wage	Stayers	Leavers
Number	67	46
Percent	100	100
Under $400 a month	43	54
Over $400 a month	57	46

[1] Excluded from the totals are 21 stayers and 16 leavers who had not worked the full prior 12 months.
Stayers vs. Leavers Chi^2 = .931, 1d.f., not significant.

An examination of the schooling of the program participants in relation to the program source or manpower agency will give some idea of the extent to which the programs "creamed-off" the better educated applicants. The question arose whether some programs were more likely to recruit men who did not need the assistance of the program. (See table 29.)

Except for one source, the majority in each program were high school graduates. To that extent, possibly the programs were not selecting the most difficult cases.

Stayers and leavers differ in terms of educational attainment. (See table 30.) Stayers were more likely to have been at least high school graduates than were leavers. Of stayers, 70 percent had completed 12 or more years of formal education compared with 51 percent of leavers. Stayers and leavers were compared with respect to a number of variables that characterize the job that they got through a manpower program.

Table 29. Percent Distribution of Program Sources by Educational Attainment[1]

Sources	Totals		Educational attainment (percent)	
	Number	Percent	8-11 years	12 years
Total of all sources	182	100	41	59
Source A	20	100	40	60
Source B	39	100	46	54
Source C	24	100	58	42
Source D	30	100	43	57
Source E	18	100	44	56
Source F	16	100	19	81
Source G	12	100	25	75
Source H	10	100	40	60
Source I	6	100	17	83
Source J	7	100	29	71

[1] Excluded are four N.A.'s.

First, the hourly wage received on the program job was examined. (See table 31.) The stayers were more likely to have received higher wages. The earnings of 61 percent of the stayers were $3.00 an hour or more, but only 24 percent of the leavers earned as much. Table 31 shows the influence that economic incentives can have on turnover. The percent differences in table 31 should be compared with those of tables 32 to 37.

The survey went beyond this objective attribute of the job to the respondent's own attitudes, how he felt about the job. Stayers and leavers were compared in terms of their general job satisfaction. They were asked: "How satisfied, in general, are (were) you with your job? Completely satisfied, pretty satisfied, not very satisfied, not at all satisfied?" This question is the classic item to measure satisfaction with the ensemble of job attributes—intrinsic (the task) and extrinsic (the conditions surrounding the task). (See table 32.) The stayers were more likely to be satisfied with the job. Seventy-six percent of stayers were completely satisfied or pretty satisfied compared with 45 percent of leavers.

An attempt was made to breakdown this general attitude into specifics by asking about satisfaction with pay on this job. ("How satisfied are (were) you with the pay you receive(d)?") (See table 33.)

The data show that pay satisfaction also differentiated the 2 groups. The proportion of stayers who were completely or pretty satisfied with pay was 61 percent; the comparable figure for leavers was 49 percent. However, this difference is not as great as for general job satisfaction.

Another attitude examined was whether the program participant felt that on the program job he had a chance to "get ahead." This was an attempt to get at the relationship between one's view of a job as a "dead end" and one's attachment to the job. (See table 34.)

Stayers (70 percent) were much more likely to view the job as providing a chance to get ahead than were leavers (47 percent). This item furnished another clue to the source of job attachment—the concern for advancement on the job. (The question was asked about the chance "for you" to get ahead on the program job.) The item merits inclusion in a large-scale survey since it

Table 30. Percent Distribution of Duration by Educational Attainment[1]

Years of school completed	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	61
Percent	100	100
8–11 years	30	49
12 years	53 } 70	46 } 51
13 or more years	17 }	5 }

[1] Excluded from the total are one N.A. in the stayers, and one N.A. from the leavers.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 4.856$, 1d.f., $P < 0.05$. (Chi^2 was calculated from a 2 X 2 table, with the 8–11 years category against all others.)

Table 31. Percent Distribution of Duration by Hourly Wage Rate[1]

Hourly wage rate	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	62
Percent	100	100
$2.99 or less	39	76
$3.00 or more	61	24

[1] Excluded from the stayer total is one N.A.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 18.288$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 32. Percent Distribution of Duration by General Satisfaction on Program Job[1]

Degree of satisfaction	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	60
Percent	100	100
Completely satisfied or pretty satisfied	76	45
Not very satisfied or not at all satisfied	24	55

[1] Excluded from the leaver total are one N.A. and one D.K.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 13.591$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

Table 33. Percent Distribution of Duration by Pay Satisfaction on Program Job[1]

Degree of satisfaction	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	59
Percent	100	100
Completely satisfied or pretty satisfied	61	49
Not very satisfied or not at all satisfied	39	51

[1] Excluded from the stayer total is one D.K. Three N.A.'s are excluded from the leaver total.
Stayers vs. leavers $Chi^2 = 1.528$, 1d.f., not significant.

Table 34. Percent Distribution of Duration by Opportunity to "Get Ahead" on Program Job[1]

Chance to get ahead	Stayers	Leavers
Number	84	57
Percent	100	100
There was a chance to "Get Ahead"	70	47
There was no chance to "Get Ahead"	30	53

[1] Excluded from the stayer total are 4 D.K.'s. Excluded from the leaver total are 3 D.K.'s and 2 N.A.'s.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 6.597$, 1d.f., $P < 0.02$.

appears to be a useful social indicator.

Another attitude toward the program job which was examined was how interesting the participant thought the work was. ("How interesting is (was) the work you do (did)?") (See table 35.) This item turned out to be quite significant in differentiating stayers and leavers; 82 percent of stayers thought the work was very or pretty interesting compared with only 49 percent of leavers. Surprisingly, not only did it produce differences to the extent of 33 percentage points between stayers and leavers who found work interesting, but this difference was greater than was the case for pay satisfaction. (See table 33.) It was not expected that the intrinsic rewards of the job, that is, whether it is interesting, would be so important among nonprofessional workers.

This question suggests that in the population surveyed needs for challenging work take precedence over needs for money. Perhaps this result is due to the fact that the sample contains many young men who can "make it" given the possibly available channels of economic assistance from relatives, friends, and institutions.

On the other hand, perhaps a new mystique is infusing the ghetto to the extent that "meaningful work" is not a marginal requirement in a job, but something demanded even more than good pay. (In the "global village," the image of "interesting work" being done by young doctors and lawyers as transmitted by television has a demonstration effect on other, distant strata of the

Table 35. Percent Distribution of Duration by View of Work on Program Job[1]

View of work	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	59
Percent	100	100
Very interesting or pretty interesting	82	49
Not very interesting or not at all interesting	18	51

[1] Excluded from the leaver total are 1 N.A. and 2 D.K.'s.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 16.042$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$.

population.) A.H. Maslow's "hierarchy of needs"[13] in which economic motivators are more prepotent than symbolic values thus may be somewhat reversed in our sample. These issues obviously require further exploration in a larger survey especially designed to elucidate them.

Also noteworthy was the finding in which stayers and leavers were compared with respect to their perception of the opportunity to learn new skills on the program job. The proportion of the stayers who perceived an opportunity to learn new skills on the job reached 79

Table 36. Percent Distribution of Duration by Perceived Opportunity to Learn New Skills on Program Job[1]

Opportunity	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	59
Percent	100	100
Have an opportunity to learn new skills	79	56
Have no opportunity to learn new skills	21	44

[1] Excluded from the stayer total is one D.K. Excluded from the leaver total are one D.K. and two N.A.'s.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 8.008$, 1d.f., $P < 0.01$.

percent; the corresponding rate for leavers was 56 percent. (See table 36.) Table 36 gives further evidence that the immediate pay of the job is not the only consideration for program participants in their decision to remain on the job.

And, finally, in this series of questions, the respondent was asked what he felt people he knew thought about the program job. (See table 37.) Stayers (87 percent) were much more likely than leavers (59 percent) to perceive others as thinking favorably of their jobs. Leavers also had a higher proportion indicating they did not know what others thought. (Perhaps one does not know what one does not want to know.) The social image of the job may be internalized by the job-holder and reinforce his decision to stay.

"Culture" of the Job

It was expected that responses on a number of items relating to the "culture" of the job would be related to duration on that job. The respondent was asked whom he would be more comfortable with—a white or black

Table 37. Percent Distribution of Duration by Individual's Perception of How Others He Knows View His Program Job[1]

Views about job	Stayers	Leavers
Number	86	58
Percent	100	100
Very good or pretty good	87	59
Not very good or not at all good	9	28
Don't know	3	14

[1] Excluded from the stayer total are 2 N.A.'s. Excluded from the leaver total are 4 N.A.'s.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 13.865$, 1d.f., $P < 0.001$ (Chi^2 was calculated from a 2 X 2 table, with the Not Very Good and Don't Know's combined.)

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

supervisor. (See table 38.)

What is of interest is the proportion that said black (compared with white or either). In this respect no difference existed between the stayers and leavers. About half of both stayers and leavers preferred black supervisors. Thus, this measure of race-consciousness did not have the relationship to duration that was anticipated.

Similarly, no relationship appeared to exist between duration and whether the worker was more comfortable with black coworkers. (See table 39.)

Table 38. Percent Distribution of Duration by Supervisor Preference[1]

Preference	Stayers	Leavers
Number	80	56
Percent	100	100
Prefers white supervisor	5	4
Prefers black supervisor	48	46
Either	48	50

[1] Excluded from stayer total are 8 N.A.'s. Excluded from leaver total are 6 N.A.'s.

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 39. Percent Distribution of Duration by Coworker Preference[1]

Preference	Stayers	Leavers
Number	85	59
Percent	100	100
Prefers whites	2	...
Prefers blacks	51	58
Either	47	42

[1] Excluded from both totals are 3 N.A.'s.

Also, no relation seemed to occur between duration and whether the respondent felt that on his job he had been treated unfairly because he was black. (See table 40.) It is hard to know whether table 40 reflects a lack of a real substantive difference between stayers and leavers in the expected direction or if the item was not measuring what it was intended to measure. Maybe stayers have had more jobs in the past and the more jobs, the more opportunity to experience discrimination. In this case, perception of discrimination would not be measured, but rather number of jobs held by the respondent. On its face, the item presents difficulty. The problem is similar to that encountered with the cultural grievance items, which are to be discussed in the following pages.

Table 40. Percent Distribution of Duration by Perception of Discrimination on Job[1]

Whether treated unfairly because black	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	60
Percent	100	100
Yes	40	35
No	60	65

[1] Excluded from the stayer total is one N.A. Excluded from the leaver total are 2 N.A.'s.

Table 41. Selected Job Attitudes by Duration on Program Job[1]

Attitudes	Stayers (percent)	Leavers (percent)
Percent that felt there was too much red tape	28 (N=87)	10 (N=60)
Percent that felt they had been expected to use unnecessarily formal language	8 (N=87)	5 (N=60)
Percent that felt uncomfortable about the way they were expected to dress	12 (N=87)	17 (N=60)
Percent that often felt bossed-around	40 (N=87)	28 (N=60)
Percent that often felt unimportant or insignificant	31 (N=86)	17 (N=59)
Percent that felt people tried to make them feel unimportant or insignificant	29 (N=87)	18 (N=60)

[1] N.A.'s excluded.

A series of items was developed to measure the strain produced by a number of norms associated with work. (See discussion in the previous section.) The hypothesis was that there were expectations about language, dress, and standard job procedures. It was anticipated that leavers would have had more difficulties with these norms; further, items were included to measure the sense of grievance with authority on the job. Table 41 summarizes the data.

The frame of reference of all these questions is "on jobs you've had." Thus, as in the item about perception of discrimination, above, affirmative responses may be a function of the number of jobs or time spent on jobs. These factors have not been standardized, so apparent findings that stayers have these grievances more than leavers, cannot be accepted as substantive and unambiguous.

By controlling for whether the grievance was on the

Table 42. Percent Distribution of Duration by Experience of Grievance by Whether on Program or Other Job

Grievance	Occurred on Program Job		Occurred on Other than Program Job	
	a Stayers (percent)	b Leavers (percent)	c Stayers (percent)	d Leavers (percent)
Treated unfairly because black	21	15	20	20
Things which bother so much	19	23	33	28
Red tape	16	5	11	5
Language	3	3	5	2
Dress	8	13	3	3
Bossed-around	25	17	15	12
Felt unimportant	19	12	13	5
People tried to make feel unimportant	14	12	15	7

program job or on some other job, some light was shed on these generally higher grievance rates for stayers than leavers. (See table 42.)

First, out of 8 comparisons of grievance areas, most showed the grievance rate for program job as greater for stayers than for leavers. (Stayers greater than leavers, five cases; stayers equal leavers, one case; leavers greater than stayers, two cases.) These program jobs appear to be grievance-producing. (A sufficiently large sample size was lacking to argue this substantive point, but the direction of the differences may provide some supporting evidence.)

And, as the grievance experience continued, then prior jobs also were seen as unpleasant. The comparisons of stayers and leavers for the jobs other than the program job (columns C and D) showed again that stayers were more likely to have had grievance-producing experiences than were leavers. Perhaps, once the current or recent experience was seen as discomforting, then in retrospect, other jobs were seen in the same light, independent of what they "really" were like.

Responses to a series of 6 items which purported to measure "Commitment to Work" were compared for stayers and leavers. The results were somewhat more in conformity with prior expectations. A higher proportion of stayers than leavers indicated a "commitment," in five of the six items. (See table 43.)

Though differences in each item between stayers and leavers were small, the direction of the differences for 5 items suggest that the items have some validity. When a total score was computed (excluding item E) for "commitment to work" (giving one point for each "committed" response), the differences between stayers and leavers were somewhat more dramatic, and in the same direction. Scores of four or five on the index were made by 47 percent of the stayers; the comparable proportion for leavers was 40 percent. (See table 44.)

Table 43. Commitment to Work Attitudes by Duration on Program Job[1]

Attitudes	Stayers (percent)	Leavers (percent)
A. Percent who would rather not be around the neighborhood all day than go to a regular job	88 (N=87)	82 (N=60)
B. Percent that would still work even if they were to get enough money so that they would not have to hold a regular job	71 (N=87)	67 (N=60)
C. Percent indicating that some of the main interests of life are connected with a regular job	70 (N=87)	68 (N=60)
D. Percent indicating that regular work is one of the most satisfying parts of life	56 (N=86)	48 (N=60)
E. Percent denying that spare-time activities are much more enjoyable than regular work	27 (N=86)	35 (N=60)
F. Percent denying that work is just a way of making money	32 (N=87)	25 (N=60)

[1] N.A.'s excluded.

Table 44. Percent Distribution of Duration by Commitment to Work Index

Index	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	62
Percent	100	100
4 or 5	47	40
3,2,1,0	53	60

Item Analysis of Commitment to Work—A Digression

Of these five items, it could be established which items contribute most to the total index score. This item analysis was performed by looking at each item in relation to the extremes of the total score, to see what the item contributed to the score. (See table 45.) Item D, and then F, had the highest ratio of high to low index scores.

Table 45. Percent Committed on Individual Items by Total Commitment Score Extremes

References	Total Score (percent)	
	5,4	0,1,2
A. As in Table 43	98	67
B. As in Table 43	94	27
C. As in Table 43	97	27
D. As in Table 43	88	12
F. As in Table 43	50	10

Drive to Get Ahead

Two items measuring Drive to Get Ahead produced differences between stayers and leavers in the expected direction. (See table 46.) These items were similar to "commitment to work" items discussed earlier in that they purported to measure attachment to important values of society–in this instance, success. The data showed that item A, willingness to move family in order to get ahead, appeared to differentiate stayers (72 percent) from leavers (53 percent). This difference was greater than that produced by any of the work commitment items.

Table 46. Drive to Get Ahead by Duration on Program Job[1]

Drive	Stayers (percent)	Leavers (percent)
A. Percent that would be willing to move family to get ahead	72 (N=87)	53 (N=60)
B. Percent that would be willing to do work they didn't like to get ahead	65 (N=86)	55 (N=60)

[1] N.A.'s excluded.
Stayers vs. leavers: A. $Chi^2 = 4.852$, 1d.f., $P < 0.05$.
B. $Chi^2 = 1.124$, 1d.f., not significant.

Efficacy

The items, which were supposed to measure the sense of personal efficacy or control that the worker felt, did not differentiate the groups. This result is consistent with Gerald Gurin's findings that personal efficacy is not related to dropping out of a job training program.[14] One difficulty with some of these items was that they had appeared somewhat arrogant about problematic issues. This attitude is unrealistic. An example of such an item is the following: "I nearly always feel sure of myself, even when people disagree with me." This attitude may be quite inconsistent with staying on a job. (See table 47.)

Table 47. Efficacy by Duration on Program Job (Percent Choosing Efficacy Response of a Pair of Items)[1]

Attitude	Stayers	Leavers
When I make plans, I am almost sure I can make them work	49 (N=87)	58 (N=60)
I've usually felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I want it to	29 (N=86)	37 (N=59)
I nearly always feel sure of myself, even when people disagree with me	59 (N=87)	66 (N=59)
I don't have much trouble making up my mind about important decisions	70 (N=86)	77 (N=60)
When I make plans ahead, I usually get to carry things out the way I expected	52 (N=87)	61 (N=57)

[1] N.A.'s excluded.

Social Background

An examination of some background characteristics of the individuals sheds some light on the determinants of job attachment. These attributes included age, region of origin, and marital status. First, stayers were older than leavers. Forty-four percent of the stayers were 25 years or older, compared with 30 percent of the leavers. (See table 48.) This result suggests that stayers were more settled, less likely to feel they can afford to "flounder" around.

Table 48. Percent Distribution of Duration by Age of Participants[1]

Age	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	61
Percent	100	100
24 years or less	56	70
25 years or more	44	30

[1] Excluded from the leaver total is one N.A.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 2.738$, 1d.f., not significant.

Next, stayers were more likely to be from the South. Of the stayers, 53 percent were born in the South; only 34 percent of the leavers were born there. (See table 49.) This result accords with the idea that the city erodes traditional patterns of deference toward job authority, which the black man was more likely to observe in Southern, rural society.

Table 49. Percent Distribution of Duration by Place of Birth[1]

Place of Birth	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	61
Percent	100	100
San Francisco Bay Area	33	48
Other Cities in California	9	8
The South	53	34
Deep South (Ala., Miss., Ga., La., S.C., Ark.)	38	23
Other South (N.C., Va., Tex., Fla., Ky., Tenn., Md., Del., W. Va., Okla., D.C.)	16	11
Other States	2	10
Other Countries	2	...

[1] Excluded from the leaver total is one N.A.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 4.440$, 1d.f., $P < .05$. (The Chi^2 was calculated from a 2 X 2 table, with the South as one row, and all others totaled in the second row.)

NOTE: Due to rounding, sums of individual items may not equal totals.

Table 50. Percent Distribution of Duration by Marital Status[1]

Marital Status	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	61
Percent	100	100
Never Married	47	59
Ever Married	53	41

[1] Excluded from the totals are one N.A. in the stayers and one N.A. in the leavers.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 1.614$, 1d.f., not significant.

Some measure of the objective obligations of respondents was provided by marital status. Leavers differed from stayers in this respect in that they were more likely to have never been married. The proportion of leavers never married was 59 percent; of stayers, 47 percent. (See table 50.) This last finding was consistent with the results from the attitudinal item which asked which part of life was most important. (See table 51.) The stayers (76 percent) were more likely to mention home and family as most important than were the leavers (60 percent).

It was anticipated that sheer desire for greater income would differentiate stayers and leavers, since staying on the job is, at least, an income-producing behavior. A higher proportion of stayers than leavers felt that they needed $200 a week or more to live comfortably. (See table 52.)

Table 51. Percent Distribution of Duration by Most Important Part of Life[1]

Most Important Part of Life	Stayers	Leavers
Number	85	60
Percent	100	100
Way of making a living	18	33
Friendships	5	5
Spare-time activities	1	2
Home and family	76	60

[1] Excluded from the stayer total are one "don't know" and two N.A.'s. Excluded from the leaver total are two N.A.'s.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 3.778$, 1d.f., not significant. (To be significant at 0.05, $Chi^2 = 3.84$.) The Chi^2 was calculated from a 2 X 2 table, with home and family in one row, and all others totaled in the second row.

Table 52. Percent Distribution of Duration by Income Needs[1]

Income Thought Needed Each Week to Live Comfortably	Stayers	Leavers
Number	87	59
Percent	100	100
$0–$199	47	64
$200 or more	53	36

[1] Excluded from totals are one N.A. in the stayers and three N.A.'s in the leavers.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 3.592$, 1d.f., not significant.

Hustling

Stayers also differed from leavers in where they felt they could get money. Two questions were asked relating to "hustling." First, "In your part of town, are there opportunities to make money through hustling?" Leavers were more likely to perceive this opportunity. (See table 53.) Then it was asked, "Which is better–a regular job or hustling?" Again, stayers were slightly more inclined to believe a regular job to be better. (See table 54.)

These two "findings" were not statistically significant, but were presented only because together they indicate a tendency which was anticipated. However, perceptions or preferences in this area are not likely to have much of an effect on duration on the job. It probably affects labor force participation but not performance once the job has been obtained. Thus, this line of question should be applied only in a limited manner.

The differences between stayers and leavers in terms of hustling attitudes were consistent with differences on an objective measure. The stayers and leavers have been classified in terms of whether or not they had engaged in

Table 53. Percent Distribution of Duration by Perception of Opportunities for Hustling[1]

Were there opportunities for hustling?	Stayers	Leavers
Number	86	59
Percent	100	100
Yes	50	64
No or Don't Know	50	36

[1] Excluded from totals are two N.A.'s in the stayers and three N.A.'s in the leavers.
Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 2.348$, 1d.f., not significant.

Table 54. Percent Distribution of Duration by Preference for Regular Job or Hustling[1]

Preference	Stayers	Leavers
Number	86	60
Percent	100	100
Prefer regular job	94	88
Prefer hustling or have no preference between the two	6	12

[1] Excluded from the totals are two N.A.'s in the stayers and two N.A.'s in the leavers.

"hustling" at some time in the 12 months prior to entry into the program job. (This information was culled from the responses, listing illicit activities, to two questions: "When you were not working, how did you spend your time?" (PROBE: WHAT ELSE DID YOU DO? and, "People without jobs find different ways of getting money to live on. In what way did you get money to live on when you were not working?") (See table 55.)

Stayers were less likely to have hustled than were leavers. Although the cells were small, the results suggest that hustling is an alternative way of life which competes with regular employment. Only some clues were observed as to its influence; these should be explored in a larger substantive study.

Table 55. Percent Distribution of Duration by Acknowledgement of Hustling[1]

Acknowledgement of hustling	Stayers	Leavers
Number	88	62
Percent	100	100
Had not hustled	93	85
Had hustled	5	10
Refused to answer	2	5

[1] Stayers vs. leavers, $Chi^2 = 1.616$, 1d.f., not significant. (Chi^2 was calculated from a 2 X 2 table, with "had hustled" and "refused to answer" collapsed into one row.)

Summary

This chapter has outlined that items such as pay, job satisfaction, and chance to get ahead, which related to the program job situation itself, differentiated stayers from leavers more than did the items which related to predispositions such as cultural norms, work commitment, and efficacy. From the policy standpoint, the results are encouraging, because individual attitudes are not amenable to direct program manipulation. The job situation is manipulable. Interesting jobs can be found or created, even for the hard-core unemployed. Good pay can be made available. Opportunities to get ahead and to learn skills can be provided. And these factors, in turn, can produce attachment to work.

Chapter IV. Insights into the Attitudes of Men Who Claimed They Had Never Worked

Those men who claimed that they "never worked" were asked a variety of open-ended questions. Such questions are good as sources of structured items in the latter stage of a questionnaire and often produce colorful case material; but often they are difficult to quantify in terms of response. This difficulty is due to the respondents answering different dimensions of the question.

As was mentioned earlier, these men were asked, "Think about the kinds of jobs you could get right now . . . are there things about these jobs which you felt would bother you so much that you would rather not take them?" Twenty-nine of 48 said "yes" and were then asked, "What things are they?" Responses included references to low pay or hard work, but apprehension about the routine and work schedule were the reasons most often given. ("Regular 8 to 5 in an office.") Another group of answers dealt with authority: "People pushing you to work," "bossing me around," "someone telling me what to do." Some respondents also mentioned "*white* supervisors."

Some respondents said that they "couldn't get a job" or "don't want to work." These responses are not appropriate to the question but exemplify a weakness of open-ended items; they elicit diffuse responses.

Further, a respondent's volunteering that something bothers him does not preclude his mentioning other things, if he were directly asked about them in a series of structured questions derived from the responses to "What things are they?" Nevertheless, the responses do reveal the importance given to noneconomic aspects of jobs, and the apparent priority assigned to authority and control relations on the job.

Those who indicated that they might have difficulty in getting to work on time at a regular job were asked, "Why is that?" The study wanted to find out what nonjob factors were involved in not working. Transportation, which was expected to be frequently mentioned, was, in fact, mentioned by only three of those who anticipated difficulty. Eight either preferred to sleep or mentioned the difficulty of getting up in the morning. One respondent said he was "staying up late, doing my thing." Another said, "I like to sleep and watch TV." Another stated that "I ain't going to get up at 7 a.m. to go to work." Only a minority of the "never worked" group felt that they would have difficulty in getting to work on time. In this minority, lack of self-motivation seemed to be an important factor.

Respondents were asked, "If you were going to work at a regular job—where would you prefer to work—downtown—in the suburbs—or in your own neighborhood?" (The volunteered response, "It makes no difference," was acceptable.) They were then asked "Why?" A dozen (of the 30 who had a preference) mentioned "neighborhood" for reasons of familiarity or comfort. Some typical responses are "because my neighborhood is black and you don't have to put up with white folks," "familiar with terrain," "know people there," "it's my jungle," "protection." Several others mentioned neighborhood because it was "closer to home," but no indication was given whether they were thinking of transportation or familiarity.

The responses were interesting in that they revealed a cultural aspect to workplace preference. Perhaps many men do not go away from their neighborhoods to work because the available jobs are in areas considered alien. The responses suggested an area for further investigation.

The question was asked, "Think of a really good job for you. What would it be like?" The interviewer was supposed to probe for job title and characteristics. Many respondents did not mention a specific job, perhaps because of a lack of familiarity with the world of work. Apparently, job attributes, such as good pay, were easier to mention. Almost every respondent had some comment about aspects of jobs.

First, 13 respondents mentioned good pay, but 11 mentioned that they wanted to have their own business or be a supervisor or be "doing what I want to do at my own pace." Again, responses were seen which indicated hostility to authority and control on the job: "No boss," "no supervisor."

When asked, "What things prevent you from getting such a job?" respondents answered more in terms of lack of education, skill or training (23 cases) than in terms of discrimination (six cases).

A few indicated that there were no jobs available (4). A rather substantial group (8) said that they felt that some personal attitudes or personal behavior prevented them from getting the job: They either did not want a job or were "tripping" (enjoying drugs). Five respondents indicated that a jail record prevented them from getting the job.

These responses indicated a realistic awareness of the requirements of desirable jobs today. It could not be assumed, however, that these men felt that if they had the education or skill or training that they would have

the jobs. Rather, these were the first hurdles of the course.

The question was followed up with, "What is it like not having a regular job?" This was an attempt to understand the adjustment and accommodation made by the respondent to his not working. It is known that sudden unemployment for men who have been employed is experienced as demoralizing. But these respondents had never worked. Therefore, their reaction could not be anticipated.

Forty of 48 respondents gave unambiguous responses. Of the 40, 28 responded positively about their condition. It was "really nice," "fun," "it's cool if you can hustle," (half of the men, in fact, had hustled) "out of sight," "one continuous beautiful way-out trip," "it's cool–I manage, do anything I want to do." A minority of 12 were negative: "hell," "boring," "you kind of have to be a little nicer to some people."

The "positive" responses cannot be taken literally, at face value. Interviewers and observers of the interviews reported that the statements reflected a bravado or defiance, for example, when a respondent said that "it's out of sight" to not be working. Even though complete responses were elicited by interviewers, few respondents gave detailed descriptions of activities which might have indicated satisfaction with their condition.

These responses can be divided into positive or negative rather easily, but they generally are not useful for indicating what the respondent liked or disliked about his condition. For example, when a respondent said it's "hell" to be not working, nothing is known about why he felt that way. When another respondent said you "have to be a little nicer to some people," the response can be interpreted to mean that without money he is more dependent on the goodwill of others. This kind of informative response cannot be derived systematically from responses to open-ended questions. The researchers are at the mercy of the respondent and the interviewer. However, the responses can be suggestive about the kinds of problems associated with not working.

The responses described above do suggest that many of the men who "never worked" are in a kind of social limbo: They reject the world of work as they find it–and at the same time are not enthusiastic about a life without regular work acitvities. For some, "hustling" represents a minimal accommodation which has the characteristics of desirable jobs (autonomy) but at the same time has the insecurity involved in being without "steady work."

Chapter V. Interviewers' Background and Interaction with Respondents

Interviewers' Background

A total of 15 interviewers were selected. All were black men. Each either had some college training, was currently enrolled in a college or university (either the University of California, Berkeley, or San Francisco State College), or had graduated from a college or university. Most were young (average age about 23), though one was about 38 years old.

Interaction with Respondents

Approximately 10 percent of the interviews conducted in the survey were observed by BLS staff members. Initially in the survey, these observers included both black and white staff members. Based on the perceptions of the white observers that their presence in the interview situations adversely influenced the interviews in terms of interviewer-respondent rapport and the responses themselves only the black staff members continued to observe interviews. (The white observers reported discomfort on the part of respondents and interviewers, guarded responses, reluctance or hesitance in responding to certain questions due to their presence.) Problems such as those reported by the white observers were not in evidence, when the observer was black. The interviewers, in fact, felt that having an observer along who was black actually facilitated the interview process because (1) they felt more at ease not having to go into certain areas (or approach certain individuals) alone; (2) their explanation that they were doing the survey for a black organization in the interest of the respondent or people like him was more credible; and (3) the respondents were more responsive and honest in the "rap session" kind of atmosphere which the black observer's presence helped create.

Based on field observation, interviewer feedback, and the detailed responses contained in the questionnaires, the conclusion can be made that the interviewers as a group were impressive in their ability to establish rapport with the respondents. This success in establishing rapport with respondents can be attributed to (1) the fact that the interviewers were black, (2) they were familiar with the dress, style, language, etc., of the respondents and thus knew the "proper" approach and style to use to accomplish their objective of completing the interviews, and (3) the feeling on the part of many of the respondents (induced primarily by the interviewers' explanation of the purpose of the survey) that they were contributing to an effort which would be of ultimate benefit to themselves or others like them.

Field observation, interviewer feedback, and responses (or the lack thereof) to the questionnaire also led to the following conclusions regarding interviewer-respondent interaction in certain question areas.

Cultural Items

Neither the interviewers nor the respondents had any appreciable difficulty with these items. The interviewers had no trouble getting the respondents to understand the items and the respondents had no problems answering them. The language, wording, and construction of the questions were clear to the respondents. Some respondents did volunteer that they had no problems with language, dress, or rules and regulations on their jobs because the nature of the job was such that there was little or no occasion for conflict to develop. For example, porters, busboys, janitors, etc., would rarely have the kind of interaction on the job which would lead to conflict because of language, style of dress, or the like.

Race Items

The same general pattern applied with regard to these items as with the cultural items. The only source of difficulty was with questions such as, "How do you feel about having a white supervisor?" and, "Who are you more comfortable with—a white or a black supervisor?" or, "How do you feel about having white coworkers?" and, "Who are you more comfortable with—white or black coworkers?" Respondents who had never had a white supervisor or coworker displayed some dissonance or ambiguity in answering. Some even felt they could not answer these questions because they had not had this contact with white supervisors or coworkers.

Efficacy

For this series of items, the interviewers had to read two alternative statements, from which the respondent was to choose the one that was closest to the way he felt. An example would be the following: "I've usually felt pretty sure my life would work out the way I want it to," or, "There have been times when I haven't been very sure that my life would work out the way I want it to."

The interviewers had little trouble learning the proper

reading of these questions so that they were comprehensible to the respondents, that is slowly with a pause between the alternatives. However, some felt that the questions were too long and confused or bored some respondents because of the form. The respondents, generally, seemed to have no difficulty in understanding these items. Some, however, did express an inability to respond appropriately because they felt that for some questions, the choices were not mutually exclusive or that neither choice had much meaning to them.

Drive to Get Ahead

Neither interviewers nor respondents had difficulty with these items since they were direct, simple "yes" or "no" questions which respondents seemed to have relatively definite unambiguous feelings about, though some respondents felt the need to explain their answers.

Commitment to Work

In the case of the household sample, no significant problems were encountered in terms of asking these items or getting adequate unambiguous responses to them. However, with the casual sample, both interviewers and respondents had notable difficulty when the respondents were "hustlers." Many of these hustlers felt that their "hustle" was, in fact, a job and tended to answer the questions with reference to their "hustling" activities. When this reaction was detected by the interviewer, he generally attempted to clarify the intent of the questions and to orient the respondent to the concept of "regular job." In most instances, this resolved the problem. However, some respondents who viewed their hustling activities as "work" continued to evidence confusion in responding to these items. In addition, some respondents in the casual sample who had never worked (hustlers and non-hustlers) found the concept of "regular work" or a "regular job" incomprehensible enough to experience dissonance and difficulty in responding to this series of items.

Chapter VI. Conclusions

Future Research

Studies should be conducted controlling for similar jobs in order to see to what extent kind and level of job influence grievance and discontent. This knowledge could make possible job enrichment programs which would lead to job attachment. In the current study, program job varied in quality so that, lacking a large sample, the effect of occupation on grievance could not be measured.

One way of validating many of the attitudinal items would be to interview a variety of men whose labor force performance is unambiguous, for example, black men on jobs for a long duration, such as 2 years or more; men who are in jail; men who are known "hustlers", such as pimps or number runners. These latter samples would require participant-observer field work to locate. However, they could be small, if homogeneous.

Also, these items should be tested on other ethnic groups, such as Puerto Ricans and Mexican-Americans. Other, additional measures would have to be developed to take into consideration a variety of alleged cultural differences between ethnic groups. Cross-cultural comparisons would help to resolve the issue of whether grievance is a function of the strain between the culture of industrial bureaucracy and the "culture of poverty" or between industrial bureaucracy and a particular ethnic or national group. (Appalachian whites would be considered as an ethnic group, from this perspective.)

Finally, household surveys should be employed to get aggregate statistics of attitudes for poverty and non-poverty populations along the dimensions presented in this study.

Recommendations

Many of the items examined in this study are adequate for inclusion in household surveys concerned with the employment situation of poverty populations. They can be used with either no change in wording or with some slight modification.

1. The cultural grievance items and the perception of discrimination item require the following changes. First, instead of providing for a "yes" or "no" response, a wider range of answers would be appropriate in a large-scale survey. Respondents should be asked, how often did X occur: always, frequently, sometimes, rarely, or never. Second, the frame of reference should not be, on jobs you've held, but should be tied to a specific job. This job can be the first, or the longest, or the most recent, or each one in a recent period, for example, the last 12 months. It would then be necessary to ascertain the occupation, industry, and duration of the job. This change would not be necessary for those who have never worked; the projective format employed in the study is appropriate.

2. Items dealing with racial preference for supervisor and coworkers should stand as they are employed in this study.

3. The two Drive to Get Ahead items can be employed without any changes.

4. Of the six Commitment to Work items examined, one should be omitted from further consideration: "Spare-time activities are much more enjoyable than regular work." The remaining five can be used in other surveys but only after an item analysis is made on a sample of respondents from the specific population surveyed. Also, a statement should be read by the interviewer to the effect that the respondent should not consider hustling as regular work in answering the questions.

5. None of the five Efficacy items should be used.

——FOOTNOTES——

[1] See *A Sharper Look at Unemployment in U.S. Cities and Slums*, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1967.

[2] See the BLS Report 354, *Report on Pilot and Experimental Program on Urban Employment Surveys*, 1969.

[3] For results of these surveys, see BLS Report 370, *Employment Situation in Poverty Areas of Six Cities*, July 1968-June 1969, October 1969.

[4] This notion follows in the intellectual tradition established by Max Weber's *Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* and continued today in the work of psychologist David McClelland.

[5] The concept of efficacy has been delineated in the work of J. R. Rotter. See his "Generalized Expectancies for Internal vs. External Control of Reinforcement," *Psychological Monographs*, 1966, Vol. 80.

[6] See "Black Culture: Myth or Reality?" by Robert Blauner, in *Afro-American Anthropology*, edited by Norman Whitten and John Szwed, Free Press: New York, 1970.

[7] See Oscar Lewis, *La Vida*, Random House: New York, 1966.

[8] These 11 programs are: Oakland Economic Development Council, Inc.; Lucky Stores; Lockheed Consortium; East Bay Skills Center; Owens, Illinois; Richmond CEP; San Francisco CEP; San Francisco Urban League; East Bay Urban League; Project Upgrade; San Francisco NAB.

[9] For additional information on casual interview technique and experiences, see BLS Report 354, cited earlier, and BLS Special Labor Force Report No. 117, *Status of Men Missed in the Census.*

[10] These items are adapted from questions found in *Family Growth in Metropolitan America* by Charles E. Westoff, R. Potter, Jr., P. Sagi and E. Mishler, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1961.

[11] See Gerald Gurin, *Inner-City Negro Youth in a Job Training Project,* Institute for Social Research, December 1968.

[12] The Bureau would have preferred to compute percentages in the direction of the variable considered as the independent one, a determinant of duration. Thus, the Bureau would like to look at attitudes as causal in relation to duration. However, some question exists about the representativeness of our sample with regard to program participation. The relative distribution of the duration groups in the population of program participants cannot be ascertained definitely. Accordingly, percentages can only be computed in one direction; the percentage of the duration groups who have a particular characteristic must be given. For purposes of the study, this method does not create a problem. The argument is that relations between variables appear to exist; the direction of causality is not clear. Even if, in the computations, an attitude could have been treated as a causal factor, a counter argument could have been that it is really an effect, a consequence. These issues cannot be resolved in surveys of only one point in time but may require employing repeated interviews: that is, panel or longitudinal surveys.

[13] See Abraham H. Maslow, *Motivation and Personality,* Harper and Row: New York, 1954.

[14] He did, however, find efficacy related to subsequent job success, measured by earnings. Perhaps, where programs are not viewed as leading to a desirable job, the efficacious person will drop out. See G. Gurin, op. cit.

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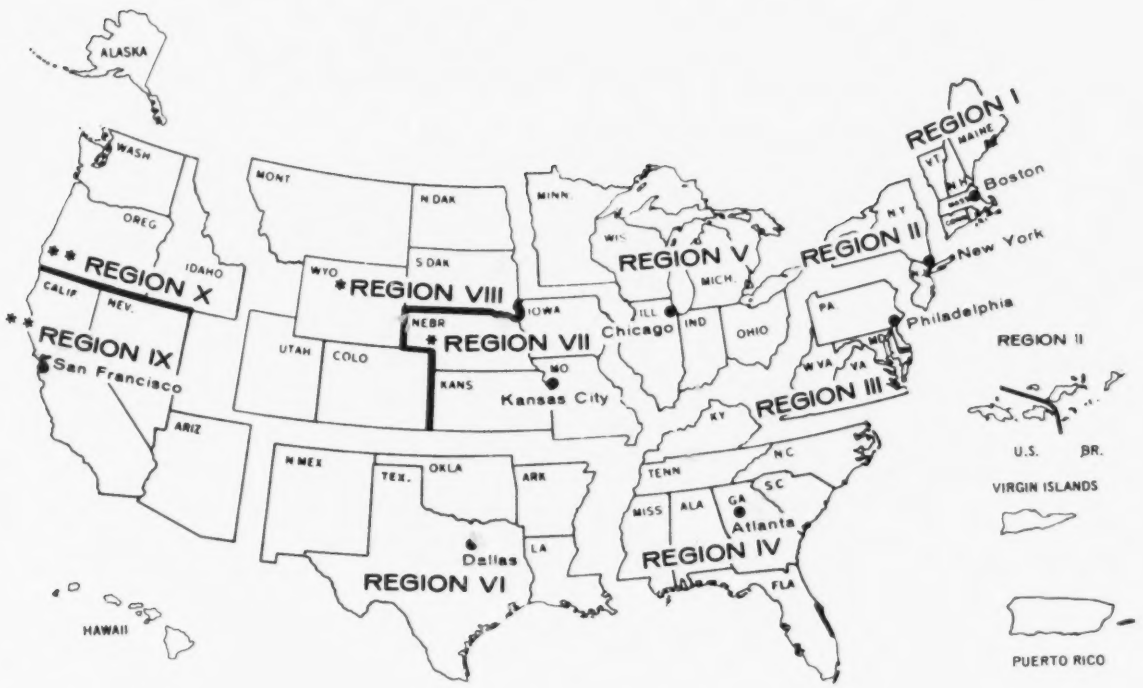

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